THE

STATE

OF

IRELAND,

Laid open to the VIEW

Of his MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS.

Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet,

Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato, fedmagis Amica Veritas & Patria,

LONDON:

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ERRATA.

PAGE 3. Line 18. for confiderations, read, confideration, p. 4.1. 13. f. are r. were p. 6. l. 17. f. that r. who p. 7. l. 6. f. him r. them fame p. l. 12. f. wretched r. wicked p. 8. l. 31. f the r. his p. 9. l. 7. f. Whiggiffms r. Whiggiffm p. 11. l. 15. f. confesses, his r. confesses, that his fame p. l. 24. f. remove r. reprove p. 12. l. 2. f. is r. as fame p. l. 4. f. prime r. Prince fame p. l. 8 f. purity r. parity p. 15. l. 3. dele the first and fame p. l. 27. f. might r. may p. 16. l. 4. f. directed r. directing fame p. l. 22. f. favour r. favours p. 17. l. 13. f. the r. a fame p. l. 19. f. ports r. parts p. 19. l. 28. f. particularly r. peculiarly fame p. l. 33. f. heat r. hate p. 22. l. 26. f. our r. your p. 26. l. 27. f. brought r. bought p. 35. l. 19. f. Treasury r. Treasurer fame p. l. 24. f appeared r. appearing p. 40. l. 12. f. judged the r. judged that the fame p. l. 22. f. belong r. fall p. 46. l. 17. f. Law, commons r. Law, the commons p. 48. l. 20. f. and an r. and as an p. 52. l. 13. f. assuming r. asspiring p. 55. l. 7. f. Nauson r. Nauson fame p. last l. r. I essem p. 63. l. 3. f. necessary r. unnecessary p. 64. l. 3. f. and r. or p. 69. l. 13. f. soever) it r. soever) and it p. 71. l. 2. f. Countries; r. Counties; p. 72. l. 3. f. tacked r. tuned.



THE

STATE

OF

IRELAND, &c.

E the depravity of the times ever fo enormous, Whigs there still are, and to such these lines are addressed.

WHEN divisions were wickedly raised between Whig and Tory, there was principle on one side, and some what like shew of principle, on t'other side. Now we see men in his M—— service, for selfish purposes divide his M—— people, without shew of any principle, notoriously against all principle, except that detestable one of venality.

No Monarch rules a large body of Subjects, so persectly united in affection as the Protestants of this Kingdom were, and I am persuaded still are, to his Majesty. Is it for his service, or can men be deemed his faithful servants, who take measures which unavoidably tend to disunite and break such a compact body of men? All resolutely determined upon occasion, to die in support of his title. Statesmen who upon any considerations, whether of malice, lucre, or ambition, will impair such an important strength in the hands of their master, may be said to receive his wages, but not to serve him. I hope his Majesty will conclude that those men do him most saithful service, who timely disclose

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to him the most important truths. This nation is still firmly tyed to him, by inclination, principle, and interest; but not by any of these tyes, bound to the joynt banner of a fraudulent S - - - and a treacherous P - - -, who find means to rule the powers that ought to curb them, (expressive epithets are necessary to convey just representations.) They will follow his Majesty, but not follow leaders that they think are deceiving him and them. They will follow men that support their constitution, none that invade it, either by arms or treachery. Corruption is now introduced, as a new method of killing among us; not unlike poison.

Generous fons of Britain, look judiciously into our conduct; the steps that we have taken are unavoidable. We must suppress corruption, or it will suppress us. Perhaps you may be induced to look upon us, as friends rendered precarious, through the artfull conduct of designing men; you will find it otherwise, we are steady. Whatever pains has been taken to divide or pervert us, doubt it not, the Protestants of every denomination throughout this Kingdom, will go all proper lengths to support the King and constitution.

When every kind of deceit and falshood is practiced on this side the water, it must be expected, that a like spirit, will, by the same insidious junto be set at work in the next Kingdom. As there is general reason to be of this opinion, and particular reason to believe, that mercenary Emissaries have been of late designedly transported to England, in order to missepresent, what of all things ought to be most truly represented; the conduct and disposition of his Majesty's Subjects; we, who by our situation, can see into the true though dangerous state of the times, think it incumbent upon us to give some sair and free account of late transactions, partly to inform our country-men at remote distance from the metropolis, but chiefly to undeceive our British bre-

WHEN religion and virtue are affaulted, every man has a call from Heaven to defend them: When fnares are laid for a community, every man should alarm his neighbour. The measures lately taken to deceive us, to mislead us, to intimidate us, to corrupt our morals, to put us upon betraying one another, are such as no christian state, at least no free state can equal.

PREPARATORY schemes having been long and artfully laid for those extraordinary purposes, it will be necessary to cast our eyes a short space behind us, and review the past conduct of one extraordinary man among us, the more clearly to discern the nature of those dangers that still lie before us.

This very fingular person, born as it were to make us mindful that Liberty may be lost, by events in their origin apparently infignificant; a naked adventurer, once destined for the sword, unfortunately for us, stumbled thence into the C——; and along with the gown, affumed a smooth front and only tongue, that would deceive even the elect. (Affected to mind nothing but a profession, which he had crast enough to pervert to his interest.) Began his spiritual reign, with the deepest intrigue and dissimulation. 'Twas visible to all discerning men, several years ago, that he was under hand laying schems to rule the nation; whilst at the same time, he was publickly and solemnly disavowing all commerce in civil affairs; not seeming to know any thing of them; although he had a hand in most, and was privy to the rest.

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In imitation of that policy which founded the papal grandeur, he disclaimed all temporal power, upon considence, that jealousy and suspicion being once removed, he might gradually and unobserved, getall power into his hands.

In imitation of the subtile Cardinal de Retz, at his seting out, he had recourse to seeming liberality, and every other art, to purchase reputation. See the use, which that Cardinal and this Cardinal, have alike made of their popularity. By the use we may judge of the views. Their distributions were calculated to answer their intrigues.

THE feeming innocence and fimplicity of our Cardinal, gained upon unwary perfons; grimace gained fome, the loaves gained others. Few clergymen were admitted to his prefence, unless allied to men that might probably be made fubservient to his wordly purposes; of such importance to him, that a magnificent table was kept, to gather profitable companions; young men of fortune, that might become instruments to bridle their Country, and in the end themselves. Every step was lawful, every pleasure fanctified, that might enable him to carefs and inveigle thefe For this finister end, his affociates were indeed fitly chosen, although the world did not then fee, why they were chosen. What vulgar eyes miftook for profusion and splendor, was by his accurate calculation, the quickest step to grandeur. Instead of spending a revenue, he counted upon puting his money to interest; when with this political view, he fed the eye with pageantry, and the mouth with ragouts and champaigne; to be paid an hundred fold for every pennyworth confumed by his gueffs, who may be faid to refemble his horses, pampered for his riding, and fed no longer than they obey him.

SUPERLATIVE elegance and magnificence in living, is the principal ingredient in his character; even among those who who attempt to make out a good character for him; as if delicate taste, and skill in luxury, that contemptible turn of mind, bordering upon vice; were an accomplishment for the minister of Christ and the King. These talents may indeed qualify him to debauch the growing generation; to render him necessitous, vain and venal; and thereby sit them for his secret purposes; but can answer no end, pleasing to God, or useful to man. Delicacy, that salse mark of judicious taste, beneath the dignity of a wise man, is cherished only by those who want genius for higher pursuits, or have an evil disposition, that prompts them to wretched ones.

SUCH is the man, such the views, such the collection of qualities, upon which a free people are, by his insidious writers, exhorted to rely in prosound security. And lest common sense might forbid such reliance; as the plot grew ripe, it was thought adviseable to have another string to the bow. Flagitious attempts were therefore made in July 1752 to corrupt a nobleman of the highest integrity. My Lord, sell your Country, and you shall name your price. Look into every prosession, and consider whom you would have at the head of it."

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MUCH shocked, but in no degree allured, by any temptations; he sat down to consider what step he might be able to take, for the service of his King and his Country; and concluding the plainest step to be the best; he presented a memorial to his M—— in May last, (which he was warranted to do by our constitution) setting forth in terms of plain truth, which none has contradicted, a certain change of measures, tending in his Lordship's judgment, to the prejudice of the state.

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THE more laudable his conduct, the more pains were taken by the enemies of our conflitution to asperse it; such as inclined to flatter the V----y, said that his memorial was unprecedented, as if a precedent was wanting to do good. The contents of it, true; the tendency of high moment to the Nation; yet the thing improper. A disinterested nobleman, piously devoted to the service of his King and Country, yet his service misconstrued, under colour of supposed desect in ceremony.

To judge the importance of this nobleman's virtue, confider what would have been the consequence if he or any other man of considerable influence, had been early bought off from support of the community.

Most of the misfortunes that have happened to foveteign Princes, at least in these dominions; have happened by over prizing the information of their servants, and slighting that of their Subjects. And perhaps more Monarchs have been injured by the misconduct of their servants, than by the assaults of their enemies. The several steps taken by men in power among us, since that memorial was delivered, justify it. I pray God that no suture distresses of this Nation, may ever be an additional proof that his M—— needed information.

Some have called his memorial an unprecedented attack upon G——. By which, we must in all propriety understand, that he has left a good precedent, where such was wanted. It cannot with sense or truth, be called a bad precedent; without first shewing, that the measures which are the subject of his complaint, were not blame worthy. When measures are prejudicial to society, 'tis the business of the subject; 'tis the duty, within the bounds of law, to expose and attack them. It seems to be particularly incumbent upon the nobility to lay affairs of this public

public nature before the Monarch, fince they are naturally to be confidered as hereditary counfellers for the aid and fervice of the throne. If all measures, that are said to be relative to G——, are to be alike blindly credited, with implicit saith, and tamely submitted to, whether right or wrong; what need of any examination? Where is the use of Whiggisms? Erect a star chamber court, and enjoin passive obedience, if this be the case. The constitution of England and Ireland is in essentials the same; Liberty lives there, is it drowned in passing the channel? When it perishes here, by any means, it will not long survive on t'other side of the water. Our freedom can't exist but by the support of theirs. Theirs in great measure depends upon the preservation of ours.

THE m—d seducer and his cabinet council, perceiving by the conduct of this upright man, that virtue had more weight among us, than they imagined; their next conspiracy, was against virtue. A protestant Jesuit is therefore employed, to make way for venality, by writing pamphlets in derogation of reason and religion; morals and virtue; truth and patriotism. Under the hypocritical character of a Candid Inquirer, he sets out upon the grand soundation of Popery and Tyranny; lays his plot, to debase and disable man; to take away the use of his reason; the natural weapon to defend him from craft and combination.

HE afferts; that reason, which distinguishes man from brute, which leads us to the knowledge of our creator, is rarely of any other use, than to invent apologies for mistakes. The greatest enemies to religion and human society, are they who thus labour to dethrone reason, and debase the human species.

THE next step is to eradicate christian piety. Lest our worthy prelates might continue their attention to the welfare

fare of their religion and their country, he lays himself out to corrupt them; to ridicule virtue, public and private, to persuade them, that devout lives are fruitless; that holyness is unfit for modern practice.

He charges it as an abfurdity in us, to expect that his patron, having a fecular employment, should regard the episcopal function; publickly avowing, that the temporal province is a superior vocation; that it is his highest character, and ought to be his chief care; that his business is enlarged, his office changed; that his present exalted state, does not admit of application to the pastoral duty. God is therefore left to take care of his own Church; according to this prostitute writer, his patron might be a good Bishop althornot a Christian.

HAD the Emperor Dioclesian, made the Bishops of his time, ministers of state; he had, it seems, absolved them from their obligations to the rules of the gospel. Providing civil employments for their Lordships, according to the principles of our author, had been the shortest way to over throw Christianity. An excellent prime minister, he had been for Dioclesian. The heathen Emperors wanted such acute casuits to unteach the gospel. These monarchs were bad politicians; instead of endless and fruitless persecution, had they promoted the Bishops, the episcopal duties had imediately varied; and the gospel being inverted, must have falen without pains or bloodshed.

Religion he confiders as a mode, that ought to be subservient to the state; reckons it an error in us to think otherwise; advises us to correct that error in ourselves; that ill judged biass in favour of religion; which he represents to be incompatible with our civil and ecclesiastical constitution; and as such, assures us, that whoever would retrieve religion, by making his prelate pious,

may beat their brains out, before they will be able to do fo. Thus plainly intimating, that if our upright clergy and our public spirited laity, will agree to give up religion and liberty; quietly suffer a lordly ecclesiastic to live in luxury, and rule in politics; then all clamour will cease. And this he represents, as the only method to compose the differences, between an ambitious prelate, and christian people. Heavens! what a method is this? Christ, it seems only intended, that holyness should last for an age or two in the christian Church. Those ages now lapsed, we may all live at will.

UPON this principle, his prelate may betray his fpiritual truft and break his episcopal oath; may tyrannize over the clergy and despoil the laity.

This occasional author confesses, his ecclesiastical Monarch "treats his clergy with shyness; and discourages them from coming about him or near him." The defence made, is, that he cannot go to them, nor they to him: That he being a ruler of the state, cannot spare time to go into his diocess; nor must they come out of it, lest they trouble him at his levees. A gulf thus lying between him and them, they must ever be separate, to the continual decay of piety. He being thus disabled to remove their failings, to distinguish their talents, or reward their merits.

AT what place he and his clergy ought to meet; I will not prefume to determine. But this we may all determine; that if they do not meet fome where in this world, it is much to be feared, that he will not meet them in Heaven.

To reconcile us to the statelines of his majestic patriarch, this writer defames the Arch-bishop of Canterbury; infinuating that his clergy cannot get access to him. He falsey

falfly afcribes haughtiness to that great and good prelate. then urges that haughtiness is a pattern for our mock Pope to follow. Infernal is the doctrine of this man; would he have the prime of our Church like lucifer! Arrogance is already superabundant; it needs no further encouragement. If fuch papal infolence were realy known at Lambeth; it ought to be held in deteffation, as contrary to the humility and purity, required among christian brethren. Such unchristian carriage, ought to be religiously avoided; not impiously laid down as a president for imitation. The meanest subject can have access to his Majesty; monstrous it would be! if a Christian Priest could not have due access to a Christian Bishop. What a pamphlet is this to print and re-print in our metropolis? The work of a Judas hireling, picked out to debauch us, and reconcile us to the life of a man already debauched.

PATRIOTISM, he would banish. Artfully infinuating, that there is really no fuch thing, " that it in found hardly " affects any one in these days; that it is no more but a ed difguife worn by crafty men, to deceive the unwary." By this means does he hope to breed jealoufy, and impair the credit of virtuous men; that so the weaker fort, who believe him, may joyn the vicious; and no force remain on the fide of virtue, to oppose the torrent of corruption. Patriotism, that disinterested spirit, that general affection for the fociety, that chearful alacrity, and bold refolution to do right; to expose ourselves upon the calls of our Country! Patriotism, that road to Heaven; that Heaven which Patriots feel upon earth! Is this to be expelled the globe, for exaltation of the mercenary men who are enemies to it? Better far that all fuch men were expelled from human fociety.

His doctrines are fuitable to the spirit and practice of his patron, who has taken more pains to pervert our youth, than any man that ever drew breath in our nation.

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A man more enterprizing and obnoxious, than any that we have known fince Tyrconnel fled. Look round, and fee what effects his arts and depravity have produced among gentlemen adjacent to the motropolis; and exposed to his personal influence. Examine his whole conduct; see the writings published on his behalf; published to support him and his illicit measures. Writings, worthy of our attention, only fo far as to shew, the destructive principles upon which he must be supported. Every thing good, and facred, must fall, to set him up. Every doctrine, offenfive to God and injurious to man, has been timely advanced, to prepare the nation for his purposes, and lure them into his net; from which, Providence has for the time delivered us. Notwithstanding all efforts to subjugate the Church and the State; all fophistry and craft, to poison the minds of Clergy and Laity; all flratagems, to take them by furprize; they cannot, either the one or the other, be brought to renounce their God, their King, or their Country.

HAVING exploded Patriotism, he then advises us to humour our Governors, grant them their demands, (it seems he was let into the secret that demands had been early concerted) and swim with the tide. He had been a good preacher for Lord Strafford. Having taken all pains to vitiate the minds of men likely to contend for Religion or Liberty; the next attempt is to render them odious to the world and one another.

GREAT BRITAIN, the freest, the most estimable nation, now upon the globe; probably as much so as ever was upon the globe; the Patrons of Liberty, civil, and religious; the bulwark of the Protestant interest; a nation envied by the rest of Europe; this paracide indiscriminately traduces, as a vicious, frantic, and profligate people.

THE gentlemen of Ireland he libels, as " ignorant and erude; awkard, blunt, and ridiculous; drunkards and " cheats; combined to oppose the Government; thorough es paced party-men, trained among dogs and horses, bul-66 locks and sheep; where they are likely to lose the little es good that nature had put into them.". A man of private rank, enters their nation, a candidate for preferment; is kindly received, gets into their C-; and by haffy frides to the top of it: Elated with dominion over his Che thinks himself therefore entitled to dominion over the N-n. Then ftep forth his underlings, to abuse them in language of every kind that is fcurrilous and falle; because they will not meanly submit to his usurpation; let him trample upon the rights of the C-y and People; and fuffer him to tyrannize alike over both. See the confequence of a brain turned with profperity. See the confequence of opulent donations; when they meet with a weak head or vain heart to work upon. No brain weaker than that of a fubtile man. Craft is not wildom.

Trs difficult to produce stronger evidence of a malign disposition, than appears before us. Worldly grandeur, in opposition to Christianity, hoping to raise itself upon the ruins of our peace, our liberty and our virtue. Every art exerted, the utmost pains taken to set Clergy and Laity, English Protestants and Irish Protestants; in the most invidious light, vilifying all, to raise a stame in every breast and render all alike odious to each other, that in the midst

of the general conflagration, the leviathan may have his will, and tyranize over faithful fubjects, who, to his furpize, and aftonishment, and mortification, shew him, that he can neither dupe them, nor buy them, nor bully them; even with the friendly aid of a threatning letter, feafonably transmitted just before the fitting of our P-, to put them in a panic, before they were put to the question. Like Mr. Selden's woman, who whipped her child beforehand, for fear he should break the pitcher. A letter treating us with a certain contempt and infult, which the greatest man, destitute of provocation, has not a right to practice towards his lowest inferiors. A letter, penned as by an enemy, to bring us under the character of proftitutes, and in that light to render us for ever ignominious and despicable in the eyes of our country-men. Ignominious indeed; had we flavishly fubmitted to be driven into measures against conscience and conviction; at a perilous time, when every one of us fees, that our consciences were to have been violated; by the man and for the man, who has none.

My L—,

"YOUR L—— will receive a letter from my

"Lord H———, with a copy of a very extra
"ordinary paper, delivered by the Earl of K—— to the

"K—.

" HIS M --- thought it not confiftent with his dige nity, to enter into farther particulars, eith r with rees gard to the facts fo strongly stated, or with regard to " my Lord P --- , or L --- G ---- S --- . It was fufficient for his M- to declare the confidence es he is pleased to repose in me, the support he will give 66 his reprefentative, and that he leaves me the judge who best deserves my confidence, and through what channel 66 his favour are to be disposed. I hope, at least, it will " have this good effect, that the servants of the crown, 46 and other members of the House of Commons, who er always expressed their inclinations, to support the King es and Government, and have declared their regard for ee me, and yet may have differed with those, in whom es I have confided, in what they were told were immaterial points, will be more cautious for the future, in es giving opportunities to ill defigning perfons, to reprees fent their actions in so different a light, frem what I 66 am convinced many of them intended.

es Your L experience in bufiness, your pru-

" ner to make use of the confidence, which his M——
" upon this occasion, has reposed in you, than I can pos" fibly point out to you.

"I heartily wish this express declaration of the K—
may produce that union among his M—— faithful
Servants and Subjects; which I have always endeavoured
to promote: For I should be forry that the Honout
and Dignity of Government should not be effectually
fupported, without exerting the authority of the Crown,
in such a manner, that would be always disagreeable
to me."

I am, &c.

D.

For wicked purposes, have we been falsly stigmatized, as opposers of the Government, that we would every day since the Revolution, have supported with our blood. A Government, which we would in earnest support 5 whilst perhaps some seigned supportors, may project to undermine it.

HAUGHTY politicians may confound themselves; vainly relying upon arts and ports, to entrap country gentlemen; perhaps the chief end proposed, by their boasted refinements of education. Under all disadvantages of rustic ignorance, with which we are upbraided; we see the train, laid with scornful negligence, as not doubting easily to make prey of unbeaten game; which 'tis true, may possibly fall by the hand of their enemy; but not at this time, through surprize. We all of us now see unstriendly designs, against which we might have guarded; had we, at the beginning of this A————, less deference and more suspicion.

PROMPT as we are, to support Government; in the midst of native simplicity, we know that a wary and timely

position to Government; but on the contrary, manifestly tends to the service and stability of Government. The duty of the Subject and the interest of the Nation, are too well understood among us, to admit of opposition to a just Government. And if the fault lyes not in ourselves, there is no reason to sear that we shall live under any other.

EVERY Ruler that enters this Nation finds his administration fit easy, where his conduct is suitable to his commission. Upon no other terms, ought it to fit easy; nor can it, whilft fenfibility and freedom, in any degree exist. If report may be credited this truth was early made known to our V- by a man of the first distinction among us. When his G-faid to him, I hope we shall have a short and quiet Sessions. You may if you please my Lord. Had his G-paid any regard to this judicious and candid intimation, he might have passed through his Government, with as much tranquility as any of his predecessors. But if his G-be wedded to advisers and to measures, which produce evil consequences, the blame lyes not at the door of his Majesty, nor at our door. Not an inftance can be given, of any improper opposition to Government. Some inflances, perhaps, of unneceffary complyance; and if there had been fewer inflances of unneceffary complyance; these political ravagers who facrifice our public peace, had now been less assuming.

To go no further back than this winter, the new and alarming practices of fatal tendency to all public virtue and liberty; will, it is to be hoped, teach this nation more caution. And likewife teach them to fet an higher value upon those same Country gentlemen, the squires; whom this scurrilous writer thus licentiously endeavours to ridicule. Not satisfyed with a genearal abuse of gentlemen

tlemen, who constitute the lower House of Parliament; fill many important trusts in the Kingdom; and are in great measure, the slower of the Nation, as well as the defenders of it; he lays himself out to depreciate virtue and human race. Men who are strangers to the power of virtue in themselves, would have the world believe, that no such thing exists. But if men of virtue did not exist, Government could not. If Patriotism did not exist, we could not.

THE very instance of resolute perseverance in reducing the present aspiring P— within the bounds of his duty, demonstrates that the gentlemen of this Country have virtue. Demonstrates, that they have wisdom, the parent of virtue.

THE question has been asked; who is Aaron, that ye murmur against him. In answer, his injuries to the public, are the cause of our loud and general murmur. His character is now well known to every man from the Bishop to the sexton, and from the Earl to the cobler. Aaron is an ambitious invader of our rights and priviledges; therefore do we juftly murmur. He neglects the things that he ought to do; and does the things that he ought not to do; things that no man ought to do-Diffurbs the harmony and peace of a Country, and fets at variance the minds of gentlemen, of friends, relations, brethren, husband and wife; father and fon; to gratify an ambition which no principles can justify; an ambition which the principles of his profession, do most particularly condemn. If Aaron would confine himself to the duty, that he owes to his God and his King, we would not murmur against him. If he becomes the object of fcorn or hatred, 'tis his fault, not ours. We may diffemble, but we cannot avoid to heat or dispise Aaron, if his conduct renders him adious or despicable. Should

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we flatter Aaron, we deal dishonestly; by inducing him to rely upon merit, that he has not. 'Tis rather doing to the Church, and to the man, the duty of a friend, to tell him his faults; its likwise doing justice to the Nation.

SHOULD such an adventurer break loose and attempt the direction of affairs on t'other side of the water, how short would be his reign, amongst that spirited people?

THE fame retainer of Aaron, in order to render us obnoxious, infinuates that we murmur because his Mis pleased to appoint the P--- one of our G---. Tis not probable, that he ever heard a man murmur at that appointment. He mifreprefents the cause of murmur. We are ready to pay due respect to his M- fervant; but we would have that fervant confine himfelf to the proper business of his R-1 Master: Study his honour, his real interest; and not, daringly raise an Empire for himfelf; not misuse that facred Name, and under pretence of ferving the C-n, take steps, which the C-n, duly apprized, would abhor; not presume to obtrude himself into fuch affairs, as folely belong to the popular branch of our Constitution. Which, for the true interest of Prince and People, ought, by every man, in every Government, to be left fairly, entirely, and absolutely, to their own free deliberation and fentiments. When a fubtile genius throws enmity between them, he lights the match; generally without the knowledge, and against the will of either; and perpetually against the true interest of all. An attempt to controul, to menace, or unduly influence the Representatives of the People, in their legal proceedings; founded upon their share in the administration, is an open violation of our known National Rights; is subversive of our Constitution; it is as truly an attack upon the Liberties of the People,

Men of fudden and unexpected rife, from very low to very high condition; feem, to themselves, as in a state of enchantment; fancy, that they have got above human race; generally want ballast; forget themselves, and know not where to circumscribe their ambition.

A further question is put, to this effect. What wrong flep has been taken, that tends to hurt the general interest of the Kingdom; or abridge any privilege that we poffefs? I answer thust what wrong step, except open f-- e, has not been taken? Corruption is more dangerous than force, as being more difficult to oppose. Besides the practices already mentioned, we see the most extraordinary pains taken, to gain over Gentlemen that have an interest in Burroughs; unheard of fums offered for feats in Parliament; unheard of measures taken, to gain feats by violence that could not be gained by venality; military preferment, civil employments offered, to induce the Burgeffes of a Corporation to betray their trust; nay, these corrupt offers urgently preffed, untill a generous Subaltern repelled them, by his noble declaration, That a Regiment could not corrupt him-A declaration, that shewed he deserved a Regiment. Indefatigable endeavours used, to get creatures into the House, and according to the general opinion of candid men, various indirect fleps taken, every at of power exerted, and every art ufed, B 3

used, to biass Gentlemen that are in the House. Menaces tried, and promises profuse tendered; perhaps more in a day, than could be performed in an age.

THEIR promises, like King James's brass money, easily coined, pass current, whilst our young military ruler resides in the Kingdom; useless when he is gone; carry an appearance of wealth, when only filth is in the purse. The fitest reward for hirelings, though it shews the fraud of the purchasers. Twas therefore wary craft, to pass engagements by Deputy, and furnish the Principal with a cloak for his own character. Enableing him openly to say, "What promises I made, I will perform. Let those that have made promises in my name, and those that have taken them look to the event."

WERE Places, Civil, Military, and Ecclefiafficel, at the disposal of this ambitious young man and his confederate, for support of their lawless measures, what would be the state of our Government? God preserve the Monarch and the Nation; their cause and their perils are the same. Conspirators in antient Rome, began with corrupting the People.

Companion, Friend, Relation, Father, Son, and Brother, fet to work upon each other; every passion consulted, every inclination slattered; no step omitted, to decoy you. How can you escape, but by an early and vigorous constitutional opposition; never so judiciously made, as in the beginning, before the strength of our antagonist is increased, and your own diminished?

Trs the real interest of the Crown, that such measures be early opposed. Oppose them in time, and you prevent suture evils. Let them run on, and the murmurs occasioned by the mal-conduct of the M—— may become seeds of disassection to the P——e.

TME famous Bill of Rights, declares, That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free; but 'tis needless to bring men freely into Parliament, if finister practices be admitted to render that freedom useless, when they get there. The Subject is treated contrary to Law and Constitution, whenever that freedom is invaded, within doors or without, by any perfon whatfoever. If it be an invalion upon the rights of the People, to tamper with a Juror, how much more fo, is it to tamper with men in higher truft? Men, upon whose conduct our all depends. An invasion, in the event, as truly injurious to the Monarch, as to the People. A trick in politicks is like craft in physic; a Government supported by expedients, is like a fick man in the hands of an emperick; ill advised, ever compering, with palliative medicines, not to cure, but to keep him for a time just alive; and, for the Doctor's profit, always fick. A wife and just administration, does not need expedients; nor can they long support a bad one. They answer no end but to aggrandize the servant at the expence of the mafter. What a life must a Monarch lead. that is to rule a People governed by vice and corruption? In the year 1714, we crowned one of the best Men that ever wore a Crown. His Son is not inferior to him. In about forty years reign, no attempt whatfoever has been made upon the Liberties of the People. Would either of these Princes countenance the steps that have lately alarmed and divided us: No. Were facts fairly represented to our gracious and impartial Monarch, he would disclaim the measures taken by some of his servants, and thank his Subjects. He would acknowledge, that they have reason to be alarmed, when they fee every artful man picked out for an emiffary; and every emiffary, as bufy as those of fatan, to deceive, feduce, and debauch; efforts of corruption, in every shape, such as earth has not known, since the destruction of Rome; perhaps not then. What Nation has with-B 4

withflood, or can withfland such batteries long continued-Our existence depends upon their timely end.

WILL any hardened finner fay, that virtue is gone; when we withfland temptations infinite? Shall any interefted deceiver calumniate our Nation, as a vicious one; when our conduct has extorted this confession from one of the disappointed conspirators? "We, who thought this Nation might be as easily gained as a venal Burrough, find "more Virtue in them, than we imagined to be in the British dominions."

ONE of the brightest parts in King William's characters and one of the wifest steps that ever he made; was his upright behaviour towards the Convention Parliament. All electors were left to their own inclinations; without any follicitation from him or his friends. By which means there was a free Representative of the Nation. When the Convention affembled; fo far was he from attempting to influence them, that he would not even connive, when fuch attempt was made by the Subjects themselves. Many well disposed persons at London, jealous of disaffection in the House of Lords, as being inclined to recall King James; prepared a petition, subscribed by men of all ranks, to be prefented to the Lords; defiring in plain terms, that they would fettle the Prince and Princess of Orange upon the Throne. But the Prince, above this way of proceeding, fent the Lord Mayor orders to ftop this project.

DURING the long and memorable debates and conferences, concerning the abdication and vacancy of the Throne, the Prince never attempted to gain a man to his party. On the contrary he was less affable than usual; to shew, by his behaviour, that he lest every man at liberty, to vote without biass, as he should think fit. In consequence of this generous and judicious demeanour, the Nation behaved

BRETHREN consider who support measures so enemical to liberty, so dangerous to you and your posterity. Those who act upon sinister motives are easily distinguishable from those who act upon error of judgment. Let the names of your enemies who would pass for your friends, be engraved in every part of your houses; let the History of these times be kept by all families; all that would be free. There are men, who value themselves upon leaving nothing unattempted to subdue us; let us shew, that we neither want generosity nor freedom of spirit. Let us shew them, that they cannot rule us, as we rule beasts, by sear and the aid of one, against the other.

If the remotest parts of this Nation do not know the attempts which have been made, they ought to know them; so ought the next Nation. That great and free people, are deeply interested. Let them consider the latent snares that may take themselves. Let every British subject know what has lately been done among us.

WILL these men again tell us in print, that "no corruption, no jobbing, no violence, no assault, has been offered or intended." Much has been offered; more intended; and nothing to oppose the one or the other, but spirit; plain mere Whiggism, Patriotism, Virtue. The generality of one party was evidently moved by indirect views; the generality of the other, by virtue; what else could induce honest Country Gentlemen,

SUCH conduct under a Whig administration, or any administration that passes for such, is astonishing. The V——, the P——, the S——, and every man conversant in public affairs, knows that the subjects of this Kingdom chearfully concur in every act for the real service of the Crown; tampering therefore is unnecessary. Corrupt them, and what is the consequence? You train them, to sell to the best bidder; your enemy therefore, may purchase them. Their native innocence suffered to remain, they are your sure friends; rendered venal, you know not who gets them, nor when.

A Subject thus brought up, is only purchased from the Prince to the Minister. And a Government thus supported, stands not upon a lasting support. Conduct of this fort, forbodes destruction to the Prince, or to the People; perhaps to both. It tends to make both a common prey, to an enemy abroad or a servant at home-The property of the servant, ready for sale to the examination.

Our Nation is remarkably well affected to the House of Hanover; must not every candid man confess, that the Prince is more fase in the hands of such a People, than in the hands of one man; much less in the hands of this man, now so well known to us all.

THE British Subjects in general chuse to be faithfull, even for their own sakes. Seldom any thing less than high and repeated provocations can alienate them. Of the aspiring man you have no hold, because he has no dominion over himself; he is governed by his passions, and they are governed by the man of greatest art. Such a man might have been a proper instrument for Lewis XIV, perhaps for Lewis XV; our Monarchs, since the Revolution, thank God, do not need such servants. They rely upon their People. Wisdom and justice; into out this reliance. Providence grant, that they never have any other.

THE steps taken to deceive this Nation were transacted with the utmost secrecy and crast, some of them fortunately came to our knowledge, tho' sew in comparison of the whole. Where the spring of these transactions lyes, is no secret. I appeal to the breast of every candid gentleman in this Nation. Every shop-keeper in the Metropolis, every farmer in the Country, sees it. No man is at a loss to trace them to their sountain. 'Tis surely terrible, to see some of our own hands, wickedly hired, and treacherously consenting, to be employed against ourselves; consenting to be our executioners, and in the event, their own.

Ir he, who ought to be the most r—d, has a share in these proceedings, he is answerable to God and Man. As a Lord of P———, as a C———, as G—— of the Kingdom, as a M——— of state, which

which his minion calls him, he is bound to avoid medling in affairs of the House of Commons. 'Tis the highest invasion of the facred rights of the People; the lowest of them, may with equal right, assume his robes, and vote on his bench.

THE number and nature of advantagious views, that fet these political artists to work, none can conjecture; some we see; the worst perhaps we do not see; worse might have arisen, had they found us tame enough for their burthens. More may still arise.

THE Barracks of this Kingdom having been in a ruinous condition, the House of Commons in 1747 addressed
the Lord Lieutenant to build, rebuild, and repair them,
for the troops returning hither at the end of the last war.
The Government entrusted the work to the Surveyor General, who received near 39,000 l. out of the Treasury
for that purpose.

Upon the general complaint of Officers and Gentlemen all over the Kingdom, touching great abuses in the building and repairing of these Barracks, injurious to the forces, as well as a wrong and scandal to the Nation; a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1751, to enquire into these abuses; and the Lord Lieutenant declared, that he had no intention to screen the Officer who expended the money; concluding, that as it was an affair merely relative to the Country, he ought to stand or fall, by his works.

In the progress of the inquiry, it became manifest, that the Officer had grossly abused his trust; protection he therefore wanted, and threw himself upon Aaron to get it. Being now one of Aaron's forces in the House of Commons, he must not be left to stand or fall by his works; as a fervance fervant of the Crown, he must now be respected. In. flead of expulsion from Parliament, and an address to remove him from his employment, both which were upon the point of being done; all powers were exerted to fcreen him, and fuspend the just refertment of the House of Commons. It was fo ordered as to get his punishment referred to another Judge; and a refolution paffed, requireing nothing more of him, but to make good the defective repairs, and fit the Barracks for reception of the Forces-Instead of being punished, as the Commons had good reafon to expect; he was permitted to fell his employment at full value; and the buildings being faid to continue in a ruinous state, the House of Commons in 1753, thought fit to enquire, how far the Surveyor General had complied with their Refolutions of last Session. And finding that he had not complied, they expelled him; notwithstanding the utmost endeavours used by Aaron and his confederates, to protect him.

An order of Parliament issued about October last, requiring the commanding Officers of the several Barracks to report to the House of Commons the state and condition of the buildings. By the reports of those Officers, it appeared, that they were in general ruinous; rain in abundance pouring through the walls and slating.

A brave foldiery, expose their lives abroad to defend a Protestant Succession and the Liberties of Europe. Upon their return to Ireland, although the Nation spare no cost to provide commodious habitations; these gallant Englishmen, for such they are which we enlist, were many of them sent to sleep in places, worse than their parents in England provide for their beasts. What Soldier can be blamed for deserting, if he wants the necessaries of life? What sort of a Colonel, what sort of a Senator, must he be, who exerts ministerial influence to make the King's servants.

fervants betray their conftitutional trust in Parliament and fereen an offender, whose misconduct tends to destroy Englishmen and Soldiers? What a man is this, to have the secret direction of a V—— who has the government of us?

A boy, because he is the son of a L____, is injudiciously complimented with a seat in our Parliament; grown to manhood, he makes this return.

Obsequious men of fortune, who carry the lead in fome of our Burroughs, unwarily bring men of this fort into our House of Commons; by which means, the natural Representatives of the People are kept out of Parliament, and the Kingdom is deprived of their service. A feat which some honest country gentleman ought to fill, is in effect vacant, when this man's f—r is not in our Government; and worse than vacant, when he is in it.

VARIOUS were the conjectures relative to this new trust concerning the Barracks, but whether well or ill grounded, so far is certain, that the Nation was grossly abused. The Surveyor General greatly misbehaved; and by his means, the Public have been egregiously wronged. Concrary to his instructions from the Government, he contracted with feveral persons, who were not workmen; and knowingly fuffered others, not workmen, to make use of the names of workmen, as contractors, tho' they were not to execute the work; nor to share the profit. Generally embezzled the old materials of the feveral Barracks, without giving the Nation credit for the value of them. Perfuaded a Barrack Mafter to give a certificate to fome of the workmen, that the work was well done, altho' he himself knew to the contrary. Took the affidavits of the contractors or workmen, for the fufficiency of their own work. Permitted his clerk to prepare estimates, and without making any alteration in them, contracted with the fame clerk, for building feveral

feveral Barracks according to the estimates prepared by himself; was apprized by the Barrack Board, that his clerk had taken bribes; whereupon, indeed he was dismissed from his nominal employment, but still was continued in the considence of his master, and employed by him to fix rates for the workmen*.

No wonder, that in these circumstances, he charged excessive prices; higher prices for the worst materials and workmanship; than the best were worth; and after all, executed this public work so extremely ill, that in some places, the officers thought their lives in danger, whilst they slept in the buildings, and were therefore (some of them) at the expence of providing lodgings for their safety.

THE House of Commons therefore passed a bill to reprize the Nation, out of the estate of the Surveyor General. But the bill was thrown out in the P—— C—— As one of our absolute Governors fortold that it should, when he openly decared in the House of Commons, that altho' it passed their House, it might be rejected in another place.

THE Nation had incurr'd a large debt, originally owing to an unlimited Vote of credit given to the Government in the Reign of King George I. for defence of the Kingdom against an invasion threatened in favour of the pretender; and fince that time increased chiefly by mismanagement in the article of Barracks; yet are they still ruinous, notwithstanding great and constant exceedings on the head of Barracks. To remedy these growing

For further fatisfaction concerning these abuses, we refer to the Report of the Committee, and the Resolutions thereupon, published in the 8th Vol. of the Journals of the House of Commons.

Parliament thought it adviseable, at once to put all Barracks in thorough repair; and for that purpose, in Lord Harrington's time voted the address already mentioned, to build, rebuild, and repair thom. A precaution which only served to run us further in debt; our money having been so grossly misapplied, that the work is for the most part to do over again, at the cost of the public. A new sum to be raised for the same uses, which had been amply provided for already: The Nation wronged; but the offender being enlisted in the service of two designing men must be protected by his patrons.

Possibly the next truffee employed in this Public work, may act the same part. He can't have stronger encouragement.

THE exceedings on the head of Barracks, for thirty years paft, amount to near two hundred thousand pounds, over and above the sum of 38,993 l. 10 s. 2d. paid on account of the Barracks in consequence of the address of Parliament in 1747, most of which was misapplied by the Surveyor General. Whereby it appears, that near half of the Puplic Debt, was incurred on account of Barracks. Yet were we not permitted to reprize the Nation, upon abuse of that trust, although there had heen near 60,000 l. Exceedings, upon the head of Barracks, even since the Vote in 1747, to compleat them. What Administration can expect to be easy and honourable upon such terms?

WHAT other two men are there in his Majesty's Dominions, who would have attempted to corrupt a Nation, and would have spent the influence and credit of the Government, for such a purpose? No wonder that the strongest jealousy should be fixed in the minds of Gentlemen, to prepare them for opposition of the altered Money Bill; and of every other step, that raised their suspicion. They must of necessity suspect men who take steps contrary to reason and justice; contrary to all public trust and duty; as well as contrary to an early assurance given by the Government.

THE next Subject of our consideration, shall be the Public Revenue, in order that gentlemen may impartially judge, how far men in power have probably been swayeds by motives which they do not think it prudent to avow.

By feveral Statutes in the 14th Year of Charles II. Excise Customs and Hearth Money, were granted in perpetuity, for payment of the forces, and defraying the public charges of the realm.

By Statute 1 1th. William the III. English, all Quit Rent; Crown Rents, and chiefries belonging to the Crown, were unalienably appropriated, for the support and maintenance of the Government in Ireland; not liable to any annuity, pension, charge, or incumberance whatsoever; the several subsidies specified in these Statutes having been granted for ever; do therefore with some other small articles, pass under the name of the King's Hereditary Revenue. But it has been sound by experience, that these Revenues, never at any time since the Revolution, answered the purposes for which they were granted.

THE Crown therefore perceiving them to be infufficient for the support of the civil and military Establishment, applied to Parliament for a further aid; which the Parliament granted, by laying additional duties upon several goods and merchandize; which additional duties, they continue from Session to Session, as they judged the state of the Nation to require. Both these Revenues being alike vested in the Crown, only as Trustee for the Public. And the difference between the two branche, of Revenue, nothing more, but that one is perpetual, the other temporary; altho' the word Hereditary, has of late been frequently misused by designing men, to mislead the ignorant.

In flating the National accounts, which is done every Seffion; if it appear'd, that there was any redundancy in the hands of the Vige Treasurer, the Nation, out of whose pockets the duties were raised, had credit for the redundancy; which was always considered as the money of the Public.

By the known usage in our Parliament, it appears, that as oft as there is any redundancy in the Treasury, the Nation takes credit for it, without waiting for any previous Consent of the Crown. A practice, which evinces the dominion of Parliament over the public funds, call them Hereditary, or what you will. A known constitutional practice of many years, which experience proves to be a safe one. A practice never once called in question untill an enterprizing S—y, and an aspiring E——k assumed a dominion, which, being sounded upon a breach of our Constitution is impossible to support. 'Tis amazing that amongst men of liberal education; knowledge or spirit is at so low an ebb, that some have been found ready to put the shackles upon themselves by endeavouring to support it.

AT feveral times fince the Accession of King George I. the Nation incurred a debt, of about four hundred thou-fand pounds; to make good deficiencies upon the civil and military Establishment, and appropriated certain duties to pay the interest; the redundancies, if any, were to be a finking fund towards discharge of the principal. But the redundancies upon these appropriations, were not so considerable as to pay half the debt.

PRIVATE persons having been considerably enriched, during the late war, the luxuries arifing from their additional wealth, caused an uncommon importation; whereby the duties greatly increased. Unexpected sums having thus flowed into the Treasury, it appeared upon stating the public accounts in 1749, that the Vice-Treasurer, had a ballance of 220,000 L in favour of the Nation. A Bill was therefore brought into Parliament, which readily met with the Royal Affent, to discharge the 128,500 1. of the national debt, out of this furplus arising from the Hereditary Revenue and additional duties. In the preamble of which act, there is not any notice taken, that his Majesty had given any previous Confent, warranting the House of Commons to bring in a bill for such an application. This happened in the administration of Lord Harrington.

Upon the arrival of the present Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1751, there appeared also a confiderable ballance in the hands of the Treasury. And upon this occasion we are told by his Grace, at his opening the Seffions, that his Majesty would consent that part of the redundancy remaining in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer should be applied towards the payment of the national debt. This language appeared new to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, they did not think proper to take notice of the word Confent in their Address; and so careful were they to preferve the Rights of Parliament; that they prepared a Bill for the payment of 120,000 l. of the national debt, without taking notice of his Majesty's previous Confent, which was omitted upon cool confideration; not upon warmth or faction; nor thro' inattention; on the contrary his Majesty's servants were duly apprized and prepared to urge this point, for 'tis well known that the S --- and the P --- were very defirous that his C 2 Majesty's Majefty's previous Confent should be recited in the heads of that Bill.

CONTRARY to all expectation, this Bill was returned from England, under the Great Seal, with Words incerted in the Preamble, importing, That his Majesty had been graciously pleased to fignify, that he would Confent that the Parliament should apply a convenient part of the money remaining in the Treasury towards the reduction of the national debt.

Upon return of the Bill thus altered, (as we have reafon to believe) by management on this fide; L Ghad a meeting with feveral members of the House of Commons, all fervants of the Crown, to confider the Bill-Some of them declared their objections to the alteration; and it was faid, that L- G- was fo far from feeming to approve it, that he expressed himself as under some furprize and concern, that it had been altered; but at the fame time spoke of it, as a thing of no consequence, and in that light urged the paffing of the Bill, for the public utility; framing his conversation in such a manner, as to impress upon the minds of the company, who judged him to be in the fecrets of the Court, an opinion, that nothing unfriendly was intended; and that this course was the most fafe and prudent they could then take. Thus circumflanced, the Members there present, were induced to Confent to the paffing of the Bill, as an inftance of their confidence in the G-t; and of their disposition to make the utmost compliance, which their judgment of the whole national affairs would then admit. And the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, upon conversation with their several friends of this company, thought fit to approve of these measures:

THE Nation, at this period, were got into a real dilemma; there was no time during that Seffion, to bring in another Bill; no remedy to be had for two years, as our Parliaments are not annual. Our Debt was large, a yearly interest incurring, though the money lay in the Treasury; and if the altered Money Bill should have been rejected, then there would have been no provision made for paying either principal or interest. The uncharge of that part of the Debt, and the continuance of the Duties for paying the remainder, having been incorporated in the same Bill.

Thus fituate, should the Bill drop, the generality of the men in business apprehended that our trade and public credit must receive a mortal wound. At this critical juncture it was, that to remove our jealousy and gain our affent, gentlemen who do not want parts, though and gain our prompts them to relyance; were, without any direct promise, induced for once to admit a State Creed. Respectful to our Mother Country, and every man that comes from thence clothed with public authority; studious to avoid giving offence; and strongly inclined to keep measures, with the Government; upon weighing the state of the Nation, it was thought adviseable to enact the Bill, and let the alteration pass in silence, without debate.

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under deliberation, it was understood that the passing of it at that time was not afterwards to be urged as a Precedent. And neither L—— G—— nor any other of the Gentlemen who had been of that company attempted to contradict this representation.

THE event, perhaps will make us more cautious; our confidence having been ill placed, fince we see our act of compliance last Session, now urged as a Precedent against us; a claim built upon it; and writers employed, to give judgment in print against the Nation, because the House of Commons did not reject the Bill. An unworthy behaviour, not only towards this Nation, but towards his Majesty, who neither warrants his servants to fish out imaginary titles; nor needs their cunning to support real ones.

His G—, at entering our Nation in September last, might easily have ruled it with gentleness. Some hoped, others wished, that this might be the rule of his conduct. It is true he had a respectful Address; not because discerning men approved that whole Address. The managers of our Court intrigues foresaw that compliments were scarce to be expected; they therefore applied themselves early and earnessly to procure an Address satisfactory to his G——; which many were unwilling to resuse, less a coole one might possibly be construed a disapprobation of his Majesty's choice; at a time, when we were all persuaded that the benevolent Monarch had chosen for the best. Veneration for the Master, produced this treatment for the servant.

In the Session of Parliament 1751, the House of Commons were unwilling to lower the Duties, being consident they must fall, upon decline of our imports, which cannot continue so large as they have been for a few years past. Our military establishment is increased by additional regiments, and increase of pay to Officers and soldiers, amounting to about fifty thousand pounds a year. Our establishment thus increasing, and income decreasing, the redundance must quickly be consumed. But without regard to any future rise or fall of the revenue, the Commons inclined to keep the Treasury as well provided as the Nation could bear; conceiving it to be for his Majesty's fervice, and consident that whatever public money should remain there, was safely lodged, for the use of the Nation.

This disposition and considence in the Commons, has been the foundation of present misunderstandings. A considerable Redundancy being thereby in the Treasury over and above what would provide for the Establishment; the Commons looking upon this Redundancy to be more than was needful to lye in the Treasury, thought fit to bring in a Bill, for applying part thereof, to discharge the remaining part of the National Debt, being about 77,000 l. When this Bill was on foot, to the surprize of the Members, instead of letting it run in the usual parliamentary stile, as we expected; the power of the C—t was exerted to induce Gentlemen of the Committee to bring it in, with a Preamble of the same import, with that which had been the last Session of Parliament incerted in England; to the general dislike of this Kingdom.

But those, who have long had the principal conduct in matters of this fort, judging it inconsistent with their public Trust and Duty, and contrary to the Sense of the House of Commons, to make such compliance, they therefore resused to introduce this new Language; conceiving, that they were not authorized to admit it into the Statutes. And those under direction of the C—, perceiving that it would be fruitless, did not think it adviseable to urge this matter; the Heads of a Bill were therefore brought in,

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and passed without the Preamble incerted in the Bill last Sessions; In this form it went through our Privy Council, but was returned from England with a Preamble of the same import, with that passed the last Sessions; together with a letter from the Privy Council in England to the Privy Council in Ireland.

SHOULD the Letter be passed over in silence, imputations might possibly be cast upon men in the next Kingdom; which more properly belong to the share of men in this. I shall therefore give you the Letter verbatim, as it is handed about among us.

"AFTER our very hearty Commendations to your Lordships.

"WHEREAS in your Letter transmitted to the Earl of H—s one of his M— principal Secretaries of State, with the heads of the Money Bills; which Bills

44 you defire may be returned to you in the usual form,

your Lordships take notice of the words inserted in the

er Preamble of the Bills, past the last Session of Parliament of for payment of part of the national debt, relating to his

" M—

" M- previous Confent, to the application of part of se the money then remaining in the Treasury, are omitted es in the Bills now transmitted, for the residue of the " faid debt. Which having been laid before his Mand taken into mature deliberation, his M-, with the advice of his Privy Council, has judged it necessary to cause words of the like import, to be inserted in the or prefent Bills. We do therefore by his M- command, er and in his Name fignify the fame unto you, and acer quaint your Lordships, that the taking notice of his of M-previous Consent in a case of this nature is ec absolutely necessary for the support of his Prerogative " and Dignity, and for preferving the regularity of pro-" ceedings in the Parliament of Ireland; whose just Rights " and Privileges, his M- is determined to maintain; and we are further to fignify to you his M---- plea-" fure that this Letter be entered in your Books. From et the Council Chamber at St. James's November 28th et 1753. "

By this Letter we may eafily judge the import of that Letter, to which it is an answer. We see that the new Preamble devised in 1751, by some men here, is falsely represented to those in England, as a matter of usual form; although it was not known among us, 'till that very year, and then crastily obtained. We see that the alteration in the Preamble of this late rejected Money Bill, which has increased our present lamentable heats, did not arise on t'other side of the water, but was recommended from hence, and there incerted, through compliance, and at the instance of men that are here; as appears by these words, which Bills you Desire may be returned to you in the usual form.

AND further, "Your Lordships take notice of the Words inserted in the Preamble of the Bills, past the

es last Session of Parliament for payment of part of the

at national debt, relating to his M---- previous Confent,

to the application of part of the money then remaining

es in the Treasury are omitted in the Bills now transmitted

of for the relidue of the faid debt."

By this Letter we have reason to conclude, that the first motion, the notice, the desire to insert a new Preamble, came from this side. You desire. Altho' we credulously depended upon men on this side, to have interposed, even in case that such an attempt had been made on t'other side. Conformable is this to the whole series of conduct visible for some time among us. Here we are deceived, there they are missed. Both abused; by two enterprizing young men, over consident of their abilities and political skill. Who believing our principles to be as loose as their own, answered for ruling us, by the sordid means which govern themselves; and relying wholly upon corruption, introduced acknowledgments seemingly harmless, in order to grasp new powers, not for their Master's advantage, but their own secret service.

Our prospects thus enlarged, and our fears raised, by these violent efforts, 'tis evident that for his Majesty's sake, our own sake, and that of Great Britain, we could not, we ought not, to recede from our National Rights; as we cannot see with what view they should be attacked, unless to make ill use of new claims, in case that we should give way; or to raise discontent between King and Subject; in case we should oppose the measures, which we could not approve.

THE public money lying in our Treasury, is now, by all unprejudiced men allowed to be the money of the Nation; and applicable only to the use of the Nation; if so, the Parliament that raised this money, must surely have a right to advise the application of it. A right essential to

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Parliament, and continually exercised among us without interruption, fince we have had any redundancy. A right which cannot injure the Crown, who have strictly no property in the money. On the other hand, introduce new language in your Statutes, which, even by a ftrained conftruction of fervile lawyers and parrafites, may give the Crown a new claim, then you injure the Nation. And altho' the language be barely doubtful, you prejudice the Crown and People, by raifing contests between them. Probably this was the view which fome had, in raifing thefe; and poffibly they were raifed, for purposes beyond what the World as yet imagine. If no new claims were to have been grafted upon this Preamble, nor any intention to create jealoufy and division, where there should be none; why was fuch extraordinary and uncommon pains taken to support it? Were there an antient and an undoubted Prerogative, to warrant this new parliamentary stile, how comes it that none ever found out the Prerogative. untill the S-y, and his fanctified Partner, found a Temptation in the Treasury?

As for any conflitutional right of demanding parliamentary supplies, it is sounded only upon the necessary support of Government, whatever may be intended, nothing more is at any time pretended; which demonstrates that no more ought to be demanded than is sufficient to answer that end, and if more shall arise upon miscomputation of sunds, it remains the natural property of the state who raised it.

AT the beginning of this contest, some Partizans of the Court pretended, and openly insisted in the House of Commons, that the redundancy of public money was the King's property; and absolutely at the disposal of the Crown. When they sound this doctrine too absurd for currency; then the language varied, and the redundancy was indeed allowed to be the money of the Nation, but at the King's disposal for public uses; they said that it was vested in his Majesty, as a Trustee, and that his Prerogative tyed up the Parliament, from taking any step relative to it, without a previous Consent from the Royal Trustee. Perceiving that upon due examination of this doctrine the ground was not tenable by law or reason; then they stew to calumny, and called our allegiance in question; because we did not tamely resign to them what we believe to be the unquestionable right and liberty of the Subject.

IF ministerial abbetters could this year establish a doctrine, that I am not to propose making use of my money untill I obtain previous leave (which must be graciously offered without asking) to make the proposal; they might next year improve this doctrine, and fay, that fince the money is useless to me, I have no right to make enquiry about it; nor to examine who takes it away. That it does not concern me, who takes it, fince I cannot. Should a Minister of State obtain from himself a warrant to draw it out of the Treasury, on a supposed account of public utility; who shall prefume to question his application. The Commons cannot; they must be filent, until the Minister himself procures them a licence to examine his own conduct. Inferences less spacious have been drawn. There have been Ministers, who would affirm that exigence of flate required fuch a warrant; Primates who would justify it, by precepts of the Gofpel; and Judges even in this last age, who would have pronounced the feizure to be lawful. We all know what has been delivered for law in the Reign of Charles I. not only by Judges on the bench, but with folemnity by all the Judges (except honeft Crook and Hutton) affembled in the Exchequer chamber. The Parliament having been obliged to annul their illegal and partial determinations;

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and 'tis better to avoid all foundation of strife, than be obliged to reverse decrees.

ADHERING to the forms and the usual language of Parliament, cannot be attended with any evil to the Crown-Because whatever public trust, whatever power over public money, was in the Crown, still continues there; nor did the House of Commons ever attempt to abridge the prerogative, in this or any other instance; but were content to leave it as they found it. Whatever right the Crown had, to iffue letters or warrants for payment of public money; whatever right the Crown ever had to apply it, the same right still subsits. Their Consent is acknowledged to be necessary to the disposing of public money. And should his Majesty's representative think it adviseable that his Majesty's Consent should precede the Money Bill, even that end was answered by his Speech at opening the Parliament. To what purpose then should a previous Confent become embodied in the Statutes, unless there to remain upon record, for matter of future contention?

It is not apprehended, that an inflance can be produced, before the late practice in this Kingdom, where any Parliament in England or Ireland, have in their Statutes acknowledged that the King's previous Confent was necessary to the making of that Statute. When a licence becomes necessary, a Parliament becomes useless.

We cannot be fure that the rights of the People would continue the fame; nor that they would be fo well able to maintain these rights, against every subtile M—. An unquestionable reason for our resusing to admit the smallest alteration. And we ought to be the more steady in our resusal; the more vehemently we see such ground-

less alteration infifted upon; particularly when we fee corrupt Steps taken to compass it; and see fervants of the highest ability and fidelity, displaced for opposing it. Were a Parliament only to meet by proclamation of the Crown, for the bare affenting to raife annual supplies for foldiers and state officers, and afterwards have no authority, but by previous licence to advife the application, of what happens to remain after supplying these ends; nor no authority to enquire how it has been disposed of as hath been publickly affirmed; what better would they be than a Parliament of Paris affembled to do what they are bid, and do nothing but what they are bid? Who but a flave, would fit in fuch an affembly? Establish this negative claim, in any one inftance of parliamentary authority; and 'tis eafy to make it a precedent, for curbing the rights of the People. If this was Law, commons could not have enquired into the conduct of the Surveyor General; nor would the P- and S-, have taken unwarrantable steps to defend him. Could they have screened him under colour of Law, they would not have ftruggled to do it against Law.

We see what attempts were made this winter to purchase us with money, perhaps with our own money. We see, we seel, that money may be worse than wasted among us. Can there be stronger reason to guard the public purse, from public officers?

A misapplication of our money, when we chance to have money, may be as fatal to Britain as a misapplication of their own; and with respect even so ourselves, a misapplication might, for the time, be as mischievous as an alienation, possibly more so.

A Minister of State has as good a right to compel us to pass a bill for the raising of money; as to restrain us from offering a bill to the Crown, for the application of our own money, when it is raifed. The Prerogative is not above advice. No friend of his Majesty, will with him to be deflitute of advice; nor will any flatefman, except these arrogant ones, say that he has advisers more able or more conftitutional, than his Parliament; who, upon all occasions, have the highest right, humbly to deliver their fentiments to the Throne. They are the greatcouncil of the Nation, called by Writ to advise the King. To give him their advice, is, by the constitution, a main branch of their office. Can any man think it confiftent with the duty, the use, the trust, the office and dignity of Parliament, or confiftent with common fense, that they be fummoned to give advice, and yet when they are aftembled, then tyed up by Prerogative, from giving their advice until previous leave is voluntarly given to authorize them to offer it. What doctrine more abfurd, or more pernicious, was ever broached by Manwaring or Sibthorp; by Higgins or Sacheverel? And if they are entitled to interpose their advice, furely they may do it as conflitutionally by heads of a Bill as by an address. If the Parliament may be debared the freedom of speech; and filenced in one instance, they may with equal right, be silenced in any other instance, where a Ruler shall please to say, that he thinks the Prerogative is concerned. The fame spirit, that emboldens a Minister to offer one such invasion; may prompt him to offer one hundred, step by step, as he finds that he can force them upon a pliable People. The natural means to prevent one hundred, is to oppose one.

THE existence of a free Government, depends upon the spirit of a free People. Let them convince every aspiring Minister that he shall govern the State, upon the constitutional principles of Liberty and Property. Those natural grants from God to Man. Grants, so justly prized by one of our spirited Nobility, present at rejecting the Money Hill.

that he thought himself degraded by accepting titular honour and would have split his fortune, to regain his seat in the lower House, for the desence of Liberty. Thus assuming a dignity, which Monarchs united; can't give.

'Tis observed of the British Subjects, that they have great forbearance. And likewife observable, that rigorous oppressors are commonly brought to justice. Gaveston, a debauched young reprobate, was banished by Edward I. for corrupting the Heir apparent. But having artfully infinuated himself into the Prince's favour, contrary to the advice of the dying King, he recalled him, at his accession to the Crown; loaded him with wealth, gave him his Niece in marriage, with counties, towns, caftles, and manors in abundance; allowed him to dispose of all offices at pleasure, to turn out of employment, whom he thought fit, and to rule with absolute power, in the administration of public affairs. Every step was taken to gratify his infolent libertine, odious to the whole Nation. Alarmed at this extravagant partiality, the two Houses of Parliament infifted upon removing him from Court; and an honourable banishment, he had the government of Ireland, not content with it, he returned to England, with new infolence; was by authority of Parliament, banished to France; afterwards recalled by the King; and at length, by repeated infolence, he provoked the Barons to hang him.

IMMEDIATELY after his death, the Spencers flattered the Monarch, obsequiously gained him; outdid Gaveston in pride and avarice, created such general disgust, that they were banished by Parliament; the son turned purate, particularly against the English. They were recalled by the King, in revenge persuaded him to saughter his Subjects; became universally odious, rendered him unpopular, and thereby unable to protect them; and were then both of them hanged; and Badoc the Chancellor, their favorite adherent killed by the mob.

We see the fate of Empson and Dudley, in Henry VII. Reign. One of them, Empson, was a person of the meanest decent; impudent and shameless; ever boasting of his enormous vices. The other, a man of family; knowing in the Law; and of quick parts, to give the most savourable turn to the worstactions. These two consederates, were eternally wronging and robbing the Nation, by the wickedest devices; and thus raised up enemies numberless, who took the first opportunity to bring them both to the gallows, upon the accession of Henry VIII.

SEE Laud; see Strafford; see detestable Lord Chief Justice Jesteries, at the Revolution beseeching the Lord Mayor of London, to send him to the Tower, in order to save him from the mod; who by beating had almost taken his life, and would have finished it, by tearing him to pieces, had not the Lord Mayor interposed; not through savour, but in considence of seeing him hanged, as he must have been, had he not quickly died in prifon.

SEE Ministers in Queen Ann's Reign, secretly plotting to bring in the Pretender; and save their lives by slight, in the next Reign deceivers or betrayers; oppressors and corruptors, never escape universal harred; and seldom escape justice, from one hand or other. More calm and more safe, more reputable, and more eligible, more pleasing to God and more useful to man, is a life of integrity and candour; that neither prompts men to oppress or deceive, to pillage or pursoin; but animates them with a social and friendly disposition, to Civil Society and Human Race.

Besides the extraordinary measures pursued in the Barrack affair, and the Money Bill; what insidious steps

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were taken last Session of Parliament, in relation to the Linnen Bill. Easily understood by perusing a judicious pamphlet written with Sense and Spirit, entitled, Some facts and observations, relative to the sate of the late Linnen Bill. There are also many Gentlemen who know the various artful and coloured steps, that were taken this winter, to bring such of our Linnen Statutes as are perpetual, into the power of some men, who at the most could have done no better for us, than to have returned them as we gave them, perpetual; and possibly, would not have done that.

when Writers and Countiers would perfuade us to place unlimited in It and coondence in the very man that has brought there to that State. This man of dark and dangerous Literits, is fet up, and recommended for leader and director general of a popular affembly, upon whose integrity, vigour and wisdom, our All depends. What dupes must these men be, who take such barefaced steps, to make us slaves? All attempts upon Liberty, have began with hypocrify, previous to force. 'Tis perhaps difficult to give an instance, where the mask has been so quickly and boldly taken off, as in our days by an amphibious politician, that seemingly gave himself to God, as it were for the more easy destruction of man.

This particular article, that of a national confidence dangerously placed; deserves the readers attention. If a series of conduct in any man, shall appear prejudicial to the Public, or shall give them just cause to suspect that his views are dangerous; they must be void of common sense, e'er they can bring themselves to rely upon him. Nay they cannot if they would; they may indeed give themselves up to him; but as they can't trust him, 'tis impossible that they can rely upon him. The conduct and character of this

man forbid any relyance. Property in strictness he has not; his revenue is but a trust estate, wages assigned for public service; assigned for the support of Religion, now openly attacked, to build him a temporal Kingdom. For this purpose, it's own revenue is turned against it's self. He is not by any landed property embacked with the welfare of the Nation; he can only be considered as a public Officer; and not as a good one, or it had not been thus necessary to inspect his public conduct.

A P at the head of a national Church, where many large endowments and influences follo his flation, merely in virtue of his econolaftical dignity and poffession of greater power, than can possibly fall t the share of any man of whatfoever rank or fortune among us. Befides that evident superiority which such a P- must have over his fellow subjects, should it so happen that he shares one third part in the G- of his Country, how must this extend his influence? Suppose that he, being one of three G-s, should, in effect engross the power of the three; would he not then be formidable? Suppose that in confequence of these powers, he should gain sway in an upper House of Parliament, and find means to get some put in and fome put out of a Privy Council; would he not then arrive at a dangerous growth; Suppose such a man should, for a course of years, enjoy these extra rdinary powers, would he not then become more experienced; more cunning in his various proceedings, better supported with dependencies, better able to oppose constitutional meafures, and still further enabled to exercise dominion over his fellow subjects, to corrupt them, to buy them, to diftress and enslave them? When arrived at this imperious flate, connected to few individuals, and scarce at all connected to the highest interests of the Community, but on the contrary, the increase of his power, depending upon the increase of proftitution, what must a free People ex-D 2 pect ?

pect? How often have we feen a State undone by a subject, when he had outgrown his condition? The wife Romans frugled hard and of't, to prevent it; and they were undone, their liberty died, when they could not prevent it. States every where, to preserve their independence, make it their first care to preferve a ballance of power among their neighbours. Such due ballance is quite necessary among Subjects who intend to be free. Would any difinterested member of society, would any rational person of found mind and memory, contribute to increase the power of fuch a man? There is but one way left to increase it; give him All. Countrymen, this fubject is worthy of your ferious confideration, should an affuming adventurer, thus circumstanced, gain an ascendant in your lower House of Parliament, then the power of the Nation would be in his hands.

How could you deliver yourfelves, having added power that you could not subtract? Would not every man, Lay and Ecclefiaffick, be brought into a flate of fervitude? His Supremacy would tend to render him absolute over the Prelates and Clergy themselves; a kind of protestant Pope. What livings could any Bishop bestow, without his leave. They must be subject to his Bulls and his Reservations, for exigence of flate; to bait his hook; to bribe some Member, who had a fon or a brother in the Church. Not even a Translation or a Faculty could be obtained, without some view to his interest. His papal prerogatives must every where take place, and our Prelates dread and worship him. Some job must be done by them, whenever any thing was to be done for them. A vaffalage not fuitable to the times; our Prelates, thank God, have raifed their minds to the proper pitch; they too well understand the value of Liberry, Civil and Religious; to make condescentions unworthy of good fense or good conscience.

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Would not every independent man, rather live in freedom, by his plow or his shop, than deliberately bring himself into a state of fear and servility?

My Countrymen have confidence in your strength; but do not wantonly put it to dangerous and unnecessary tryals. Remember the Speech made by Colonel Titus upon the famous Bill of Exclusion.

METHINKS I hear a Lyon in the Lobby roar. The question is shall we shut the doors to keep him out, or shall we let him in, that we may turn him out again.

LET us therefore duly weigh consequences, before we make important changes; fince the Accession of the illustrious House of Hanover, public measures have been alike calmly and fuccefsfully carried on, through one certain plain channel that we all know. Why then shall that channel be altered, to humour one man, or make the fortune of another. Long experience shews, that by minds united in a reliance upon Gentlemen of landed interest; every necessary measure has been followed to maintain our Constitution, to support the Crown, and give full content to the Subject; who are as eafily contented, as any Freemen upon the Globe. The falus populi, is their aim; and for this righteous purpose, they defire nothing more, than to preferve the ballance of power, where God and Nature placed it. Divert it out of its natural channel, and the lofty title of him that engroffes it, will not eafe the loins of him that bears the oppression. Names do not vary things. Had you called Strafford, Devonshire, Strafford had been an oppreffor still. Call Devonshire Strafford, Devonshire is still the upright Whig.

THE spirit at preent, is either to lead or drive; partly one, partly t'other; so near the precipice, that 'tis high time to look before

before us. The unnatural Strength accrued to our invader by certain obvious alliances, which infinity of accidents have caused to center in him, seem to have turned his brain; and as madmen do more in their fits, than they were able to do whilft they had their senses; so his exploits, exceeding all probability, seem to have given him or his rash adherents, the considence to think that he is able to weather every storm that he raises; hence is he daring and dangeous; but the more dangerous, still the stronger is the necessity for opposing him. Oppose him or worship him, other choice is not left you. These momentous, these feeling considerations, for 'tis now come to real feeling among us, must open the eyes of every man that has eyes; and raise the spirit of every man that has spirit.

Our Whig allies on t'other fide of the water, will quickly fee how deeply they are concerned in the measures that
have been taken here. Measures not below the consideration of his Majesty's best friends. Every corruption carries its own remedy. The real interest of both Kingdoms,
are intimately connected; and in this question alike concerned. 'Tis better to foresee evils, when it may be possible to prevent them; than to labour under them, when
it may be impossible to remedy them.

We are all in like danger, without diffinction of perfons. What then will Gentlemen gain who have been unwarily wheedled to fell their birth right for a mess of pottage? If there are such; the man bribed, will perish as effectually and as quickly, as the man that is above corruption.

WHAT a mortal wound did Liberty receive in a neighbouring Protestant Country, by the dire ambition of a Godless Prelate? When such a man shuts up his bible, and opens his warehouse of Politics, guard against some dreadful dreadful hurricane, all hands on board; all refolute to fave the Veffel. What a Country was Denmark? As free as ours, untill an * intriguing Bishop of Copenhagen, practiced with the Court, to affift him in betraying the Nation. Then cajoled a party in their House of Commons, infinuated himfelf into their confidence, pefuaded them to rely upon him; and combining with Nauson, a corrupt Statesman, stole their Liberties from them. Being already on the watch to destroy them; in order to raife his own power and fill his pockets, he artfully laid hold of fome rash expressions made use of by one of the Nobility, in presence of the Commons; fomented their paffions, and the night being too far advanced for execution of his defign, he by Brigues and Meffages, kept up their refentment 'till morning; then he and deteffable Nauson led them early to Court; and under colour of friendship, e'er they had time for recollection prevailed upon them to refign the constitution of their Country to the Monarch, and in an hour, made him absolute as the Turk. The Nobles being carried in the torrent, and compelled to join in the parricide. The City Gates for this purpose having been locked up, and a Maffacre threatened, to extort compliance.

WHAT is it that from time to time encourages profligate men to these astonishing thests? 'Tis nothing but a prospect of mean acquiescence in the People. Evidence of this truth may be had every day, in every Country.

HIS M—y's deputies come hither quietly to do his M—y's bufiness. And his M—y's Subjects, left to themselves, uninterrupted by aspiring sactious men, would

^{*} See Preface to Lord Molefworth's account of Denmark.

would joyfully do his M-y's bufinefs, with as much alacrity and expedition, as any ruler could possibly require. They have given continual proof of this dutiful disposition. How did they behave upon the late Rebellion? To a man for the House of Hanover; all ready to arm for that Protestant House; Their then Governor knows, that they were as ready to arm, as he could wish them. They have always been well affected. They are flill to, and will continue fo. Whilft his Majesty's interest or his inclinations are purfued, there cannot be any degree of diffatisfaction between him and his People. But they would not be Subjects worthy of fuch a Monarch, if they were infenfible of the conduct of their rulers. Protection they deferve, and are perfuaded that they shall always find it, under the wings, of that defireable family placed on the Trone. 'Tis the end of Government They know, that they cannot change their Monarch for a better. They do not wish for any change. Having already a King, fuch as they would chuse upon a free Election, they would in reality expose life and fortune to prevent a change. He has the hearts of them all. They know, that they must and ought to have Government; and it is their earnest defire to support his Government. What inclination, what end, could fuch men have; to oppose the hands in whom Government is lodged? None poffibly, but *** treatment from those hands, which they rely upon his gracious Majesty to prevent. What room then can there be, to let loofe the ambition of an enterprizing Prelate, upon fuch a People? Were the will of that Prelate to become a Law, he could not put the affairs of the Nation in a State more advantagious to the Monarch, then they were at the commencement of his usurpation. Why then should experiments be tried, which can tend to no good? Why should any administration take upon their shoulders, the incumberance of a medling Churchman, when all content may be fully preferred, only

A method, gentle, and fafe, judicious and equitable; to take on behalf of a nation, justly entitled to the mildest treatment; because they are ever ready to give every prooff of the firmest attatchment to their Sovereign and of the warmest affection to Great-Britain.

As we are born with infirmities, 'tis true that misunderstandings might possibly arise, without faults on any fide. Far am I for admitting that this is the case; but were it so, that meer misapprehension of things, should fix a jealousy in the minds of the People; and satal warmth of temper, should cause an irreconcileable difference between a Nation and a Prelate; what a Prelate must be be, that is above condescension? Can be think himself superior to the Nation, and of moment enough to be put in competition with the quiet of the Nation? He will not surely speak like Wolsey, Ego & Rex meus. If pride and obstinacy so far prevail, that he resolves to think so; will it be sound policy for men in power to distress a Kingdom for his personal gratification? The more he perseveres, the more unworthy to be gratified.

The very act of perfeverance, must increase our suspicions. To gratify him in his boundless views, is impossible. Composition weakly talked of, there can be none. Who that is free, will compound to put himself into a state of servility? What can he have, in return for his freedom? The Nation therefore, must unavoidably oppose this man to the last; oppose him upon constitutional principles, but oppose him in earnest. He may advantagiously, with respect to his quiet, his character, and his security; relinquish his lawless pursuits; but the Nation cannot recede from support of their constitutional rights; unless they would give up their All. Giving way to an invader, is giving up their All. Our ancestors might as well have surendered at dif-

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cretion, to a Laud, or a Strafford; as we may furrender at discretion to a man that we think worse disposed than the worst of them. A man, whose continued crast and double dealing, whose vicious example, and indirect attempts of every kind, has fully convinced the Nation, that they never had so destructive an enemy in it. Distressing matter of observation it must be to our friends in England, to hear that the Protestants of this Nation are set at variance, to please a godless Bishop. Such news will be well received at Rome and St. Omers.

WHAT can be more dangerous, than a C-n in the highest station, under all the political advantages which this man enjoys; hardly arrived to the midft of life; fmooth and enterprizing, facetious and affable, fecret and artful; to hook, and link, and lead a faction; with Laud's whole ambition, and more than Laud's temper and cunning. When any age produces fuch a man; the Nation have urgent call to look to themselves. Let Constituents, particularly at fuch a time, impart their fentiments to their Reprefentatives; then observe their conduct, and thereby judge, who are fit to reprefent them again. A time of election will come, when it does, remember the rich men who would have fold you; nay who has fold you; and remember the men of smaller fortune who have faved you. Be not cajoled by Representatives who pretend to have acted upon judgment in giving up your rights, for a Pension, a Title, a Seat at the C__ Board, or a C__ m_n. You can_ not be at a lofs to find a man that has honesty and spirit. And you must be void of those qualities yourselves, if you do not chuse him. Nothing hurts you more than backwardness; openly and publickly shew spirit; avow your Principles, then your Neighbours know whom they have to rely upon. Let every Elector, at every Election, confider. that his Vote might be a casting one upon that Election; that the Vote of his Representative, may be a casting voice

in Parliament, and thereby determine his fafety or his destruction. Can the frowns of a landlord, or the flattery of a proftitute; can a rich man's purfe, which I am not to fhare; a purfe, which would be my difgrace and felfcondemnation, if I did share; can his dinner, which I do not want; can his wine, defignedly given to feduce and intoxicate; can his follicitations, his address, his promises, which he generally gives with defign to break; can thefe, or any, or all of these low considerations, induce us Freeholders to betray ou felves and ruin Pofferity; by a Vote in complyance given against our judgment; given perhaps, to gratify a man that has privately fold us. Freeholders, you are not in chains to any man; weigh characters, and make the best choice. Let it not be in the power of any man, a fecond time, to betray your interests. Confider, your Vote is not a compliment due to any man upon earth. 'Tis not due as interest-money for debt; nor do any tyes of gratitude authorize a breach of Public Truft; and warrant you to give a public vote, in return for a private favour. properly payable in its own coin, and conferred perhaps, with defign to extort that Vote, which could not otherwise be obtained. You are to chuse a man to desend you from oppression; the man that you chuse, is intrusted with your lives, your religion, your property, your All. He that attempts to awe you, or to biass you, does, in effect, attempt to chuse for you, and thereby gives strong evidence, that he designs to betray and sell you. Else, why does he not fuffer you freely to chuse for yourselves in the most important affair of your whole lives? How shall he presume to direct your choice, when you yourfelves are the perfons fo deeply concerned in the event? He must have his finisfer views; he would not otherwise attempt such usurpation. You do not see him affiduous to serve you, where he is not in interest concerned. Make therefore your own conclusions; and confider that instead of being thus driven; which is a kind of infult upon your perfons, and reproach to your E 2 un lerunderstandings; 'tis your province to support the men, that you believe are truly disposed to support the Nation. Not impenitent sinners, who have betrayed their Country? not Absentees.

An inftance of judicious choice in a neighbouring nation is worthy to be remembered for ever. The Burrough of Hull in the Reign of King Charles II. chose Andrew Mervil, a young Gentleman of little or no fortune; and maintained him at London, for the fervice of the Public. His understanding, integrity and spirit, were dreadful to the then infamous administration. Perfuaded that he would be theirs, for properly asking; they fent his old school fellow, the Lord Treasurer Danby, to renew acquaintance with him, in his garret. At parting, the Lord Treasurer, out of pure aff:ction, fliped into his hand, an order upon the Treasury for a thousand pounds; and then away to his chariot. Andrew, looking at the paper, calls after the Treasurer, my Lord, I request another moment. Up again to the garret; and Jack the fervant boy was called. Jack. child what had I for dinner yesterday? Don't you remember. Sir? you had the little shoulder of mutton, that you ordered me to bring from a woman in the market. Very right, child. What have I for dinner to day? Don't you know Sir, that you bid me lay by the blade bone to broil? 'Tis fo, child; very right, go away.

My Lord, do you hear that? Andrew's dinner is provided? There's your piece of paper, I want it not. I know the fort of kindness intended. I live here to serve my Constituents; the Ministry may seek men for their purpose, I am not one.

MR. Mervil indeed was not a corrupt one, he daily opposed a vicious Court; exposed their measures; by his speeches and writings, opened the eyes of his countrymen,

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and had confiderable share in making way for the Revo-

WHEN two such men, without a foot of inheritance in this Kingdom, perhaps without an acre in the next, except qualification acres, aspire at general dominion, there may be cause to fear on behalf of the Nation. But to talk that we individuals, as freemen their equals; as valuable Members of Society, their superiors; should fear them; is to tell us, that we should guard against an increase of their lawless power. Their minions should fear to infinuate that we ought to fear them. God forbid that men contending for Liberty, and the true interest of the Hanover Succession, should fear openly to support the one and the other. A man who fears to declare himself, is not worthy to have been born in our climate. A man flow to do his part, backward to do his utmost; when his Country is assaulted by vicious men; robs Society of the fervice that he owes them. If this low instrument, an hireling writer, treats Gentlemen with fuch haughty menace, when feeking power for his mafter; how would the mafter treat them, if his power were established equal to his ambition? Let one of his aspiring masters, his scarlet master; timely fear, that his behaviour in this Kingdom will follow him to the next; and flew that difcerning and spirited people, the necessity of keeping him in early subjection. Englishmen, esteem and honour you, look to the man.

Every pamphlet published in favour of these modern oppressors, abounds with slavish tenets; with anticonstitutional maxims; with falshoods, with deceit, sophistry, or vicious principles; undermining the constitution; aspersing our Representatives, for afferting the rights of their constituents; and sometimes laying aside that respect, justly due to our Monarch, as a King, and as a man of probity. Look into their several writings, and you need no other proof of a mercenary pen, groundless claim, and wicked design; altho' numbers of them, are said to have been, with great industry, dispersed through the two Kingdoms; under covers as for his Mejesty's service. Like quack pamphlets, given gratis, to cover fraud and seduce ignorant people; to deceive and pillage the Public.

These writers cares not what becomes of their Prince, if they can but compass the designs of their section. Our constitution entitles us, of right, to the frequent siting of Parliaments, for the framing of Laws and redressing of grievances; yet do these prostitute writers threaten us with the disuse of Parliaments, unless we purchase the use of them, by taxes. 'I is a intimated that if the Revenue which has been granted in perpetuity, were sufficient to support the Civil and Military Establishments, there would be an end of Parliaments. That is, in sact, an end of Liberty. What insimuations more unjust and presumptuous, can be cast upon a Prince, that never wronged a Subject?

THIS doctrine, with more cunning than forefight, is laid down to convince us that in policy we ought not to grudge an increase of the Civil and Military Establish-

ment.

[·] Observations on Money Bill, P. 15.

ment, and other expences of the Sate; fince this increase makes it necessary to call frequent Parliaments, which its suggested would be necessary for the service of the Crown, if the Revenue already granted in perpetuity, were sufficient to answer these ends. Were this affertion well founded, it would be an indisputable reason why we should give no more than is necessary, and only for a short period; since the partizans of men in power, thus publickly inform us, that it is only for the sake of our annual Revenues, that we are suffered to enjoy our inherent Rights.

PARLIAMENTS are by this Court Writer represented as useful to the Crown, no otherwise than by filling the Treasury; by collecting money for the King. The several other constitutional parts of their office, such as, giving their advice to his Majesty, redressing of National Grievances, making Laws for the well being of the Community, curbing State oppressors, and impeaching mighty criminals, are, it seems, useless to the Crown; and perhaps not very pleasing to some of the looser Subjects; whose desires, hopes, and sears, relate only to this world.

LAUD and Strafford did not thus at the dawn of their usurpations, fuffer their pisonous principles and secret intentions, to apppear in print; rampant as they were, with all the partial aid of King and Star Chamber, they did not in seven years raise their slavish tenets higher, than the modern tenets are, at first setting out; the contrary to the sense and disposition of our Monarch; whose wishes are known to terminate in the welfare of his People. Charles's Popish Queen, stimulated by Priests and Bigotry, could not pick out keener instruments to train our English youth to slavery, than writers that we see attempt to support our modern junto. Humble sycophants, betrayers of Liberty, avowing measures, which reduced to practice,

practice, would be the most atrocious Breach of Public trust, the blackest crime of paracide, towards the freest Constitution. What use would there be in a Civil and Milkary Establishment, if we had not a Parliament? One would be an engine of oppression; t'other an assistant engine to enforce the oppression. The simple the vague State of nature, would be infinitely preserable.

AMAZING efforts, in the midft of an eftablished freedom. But 'tis in the days of prosperity, that Nations are commonly undone. Sometimes immediately, sometimes gradually undone. Upon our many past emergencies, when Whigs had the open enemy to oppose, by vigour and union they succeeded. Now they are inveigled, deceived, and divided, by the crast and cabal of such men as Whigs ever detested. Long have we foreseen that Whigs could never be ruined but by themselves. It was not perhaps foreseen, that any of them would confent to let a spiritual intruder gain sooting in their House of Commons, to cut the tree at once by the root.

PARDON me reader. Why do I call them Whigs? 'Tis a flip of my hafty pen. We judge of Whigs by their actions; not judge of actions, by men or characters.

THE Whig lives in every state; but wishes to live only in a free State. He claims no ight to himself, but what he is willing to give to his Neighbour. He is not listed in sects, by sounds, nor kept in them, by prejudice, his mind is not contracted by systems, nor sowered by bigots; 'tis open to God and Nature. He is not attached to person or saction, but to things; to Justice, to Liberty, to Virtue, to his Country. He adheres to the men who adhere to these; and adheres to them, no longer than they adhere to these. With like contempt of promises and menaces, unawed by power, he is attached to these. Not lurking as a drone, to reap what others

others fow; he chearfully acts his part in Society: He does what he can; he endeavours within his sphere, to promote the general welfare. No matter what you call him; what his rank, his profession, or the title of his religion; this is the Whig; and many such, to their immortal honour, has providence raised up for the defence of Ireland, at this day of exigence.

THESE are the Whig principles; upon these stand the Revolution and the Hanover Succession; upon these principles only, can Liberty and Property be supported. Men actuated by Whiggism, will oppose evil measures under every administration, without regard to the names or persons of the actors. Else they do not act upon Whig principles. Corruption, venality and stretch of power, may answer an occasional purpose, and prop the tottering seat of an evil Minister; but they are destructive of every thing praise worthy. They destroy many political Constitutions; but neither renew nor preserve any.

THE open foe, we can oppose; the secret one, takes us as a thief in the night, by surprize; one acts with some appearance of honour, t'other with all infamy. One rouses us to desence; t'other stabs us a sleep. To oppose open violence, providence directs open force; to oppose corruption, he arms us with Spirit and Virtue. Divine qualities, which for this reason, have been copiously and laboriously, artfully and wickedly decryed, by the late hirelings among us.

Causes impenetrable to us, may possibly move some Gentlemen of probity to take this amazing side. If such have been unwarily taken by the deceitful Siren, they will stand assonished at themselves, when they look back at the lengths they have gone. Although all arts are used to suppress present restlection; hereafter they will see, I hope I hope not feel, their error. Example teaches caution. All diffimulation, all craft, all coquetry, all love tricks displayed; no species of deceit or flattery, untried, to debauch you. Then, the scene being closed; successfully or unsuccessfully; you are undone; you are scornfully and deservedly treated, as a cast harlot. If your Country is enslaved, so are you. If it escapes, you make the lowest figure in it.

By no method can we be deftroyed, but by divisions among ourselves. The body of our Country, have already convinced our neighbours that we are honest; let the rest of us, shew them, that we are wife. Error is inseparable from human nature; differences in opinion inseperable from 'Tis no shame to err, but 'tis infamous to persevere. may have had improper views; others may poffibly have acted upon judgment; Gentlemen that did fo, may upon change of judgment, come to act as we would wish them to do. Then we should receive them with open arms. Coming over to us upon conviction, their minds emerged, will prompt them to repay the Public with double fervice. Some Gentlemen that erred in the beginning of life; are now a faving ftrength to their Country; a glory to their families; and an honour to Human Race. It may be the case of others. Paul had once been a persecutor.

A man by nature intended as an inftrument for Cataline, hid in the womb of time untill our Age, then, unfortunately breaks forth. His early motions strike us with matter of observation; the more we observe, the more we suspect; we are slow to complain, and hope the best; but still, every moment, find new reason to fear the worst. We gradually see this man unite with a Person dangerous as himself; alike crasty and ambitious; we see their combined measures tend to one point, to assume the total rule of the Nation; for this purpose debauch the Subject; brow-beat

those that they can't debauch; make every incident a job; and concert, to break the measures of Parliament.

At the opening of this last Sessions of Parliament, the Commons began with passing a Bill of ample Supplies for the Government; and an other, for discharge of the National Debt. Whilst these were in England; they passed the Heads of a Bill, as sormerly mentioned, to reimburse the Nation, for the embezzlements of the Surveyor General; one Revenue Bill; one, for continuing several temporary Laws near expiring; and several others, of public utility; then proceeded to some considerations, about Tiliage, Planting, and other national affairs.

THE Bills being returned from England; that one relative to the Debt, was rejected upon change in the Preamble; foon afterwards, there was an adjournment, as usual at Christmas, (to 15th January) on which day, L- G moved for a further adjournment of the House, untill 5th February; fignifying that fuch adjournment was at the defire of his G-; and as an inftance of respect to his Majesty's Representative, they adjourned unanimously. During the adjournment the Master of the Roles, the Prime Serjeant, and the Quarter Master General, were removed from their Employments; and Mr. Boyle, a Gentleman of very good character, and a relation of the Speaker, was stripped of a Pension, which had been granted him, for refigning a former Employment. These are all Members of Parliament, and men remarkable for propriety of behaviour in their Employments, for Zeal to his Majesty. for Patriotism to their Country, and for uncommon Abilities to fill high station. One of them, thirty years in the Service, and had expended above 4,000 l. in purchasing military preferment. Another, at the Heel of Life, striped of an Employment, for which he gave more than 12,000 l. in confidence that a fleady Whig, acting upon conscience and Whig principles, must ever be secure of his possessions throughout every Administration under the illustrious House

of House of Hanover. These worthy Officers, though in fact only acting upon principle, upon Whig principles, are so misrepresented to his M—y, that they are discarded; whilst the S——r G——l, who had injured the Nation, was put into so favourable a light to his M—y, as to be suffered to sell at full value.

THOSE evil minded men, who have found means to diffress and embroil a Kingdom, have ftill somewhat to confider for their own fakes. They cannot but know, that his Majesty, who is remarkable for integrity, defires to be ferved by men of the fame principle; he would not have his Servants lay afide their Honefty, when they go into his Service; nor have them discarded, because they retain it. None can foresee better than he does, the mischiefs that would accrue to the Public, if upright men, who love him and the Conflitution, were put under discouragements to enter into, and fpend their Lives, in his Service; and should fuch men fall under a mistake, which we are often liable to, in judging of conflitutional affairs, no breaft is more prompt than his, to make proper allowance for human frailty. He will never fail, unless from the want of due information, to make fuch allowance. Although, in the prefent inflance, the Gentlemen who opposed the late measures in Parliament; do not, on that account, need any allowance; being in that respect, free even from error; their conduct having been conflitutional and upright, as fure as we have a Conflitution that warrants freedom of Parliament.

IMPORTANT truths, may for a time be concealed from his Royal Ear; they will not, they cannot always be concealed. And when he comes to fee, that his most faithful Subjects and his best Servants, have thro' finister views been traduced, as disaffected to his Person and Government; how will he think of the men who combine to deceive him, whilst they live in luxury by his bounty.

Soon after the removal of these Gentlemen from his Majesty's Service, and before the House of Commons could meet, according to the desired adjournment, a Proclamation issued (January 30th) to prorogue the Parliament to 2d of April. By which means the several Bills sent to England, were a'l lost; and among them, one for support of the Protestant Charter-Schools, which the Lord Lieutenant had recommended to the Parliament as a matter of importance.

By this unexpected prorogation, the Parliament were deprived of all means to lay before their Monarch the State of his Kingdom. Such Representation is fruitless from a Private Person (how respectable soever) it could not come from a branch of the Legislature.

An extraordinary crisis is this, to which the best of Subjects, for so we may truly call the Protestants of Ireland, are driven.

WHEN such steps as these are taken, vain it is for Rulers to imagine, that they can, by Proclamation, stop every mouth and suppress every complaint. The mouth of a Whig who sees his Country grieved, cannot be stopped, but by stepping his breath. There is but one natural and effectual method to prevent murmur, remove the cause.

His M—— we are told is to rely upon his V———y; the V———y is faid to rely upon a Son; that Son, faid to be governed by, or affociated with, a man who has no moral, no religious, no rational government over himself.

 dom, where content and union appeared in every countenance, untill the Grand Spiritual Temptor was let loofe to harrafs the Subject and embroil the State?

In July the wicked author of the Candid Inquiry, published his ensuring Pamphlet to destroy Religion and Virtue. Autumn was spent in caressing, flattering, and soliciting Members of Parliament; and attempting, by any means, to obtrude partizans into the House of Commons. The scene, from opening of the Parliament to the prorogation of it, has been simply and fairly represented; as near as we can collect, from Gentlemen of the best reputation, that had a knowledge of the several transactions. Thus without regard to form or decoration, you have from a plain and public spirited writer, the memoirs of six months, that will not be forgotten in a century.

THERE are Gentlemen still alive, who remember the latter end of Queen Ann's reign, when deep defigns were artfully formed by infidious underlings; for a time unfeen, or unobserved; although they moved the whole machine; corrupt measures taken, arts used for gaining by surprize and otherwife a parliamentary fanction for getting money into the hands of courtiers, to furnish their creatures for carrying on their Elections. * Members bribed not only for an whole Seffion, but new bribes for particular Votes. Animofities kindled, Patriots vilified, the House of Commons libelled, and their constitutional proceedings traduced by fycophants and fycophant writers: new language introduced, prerogative stretched, outcries against freedom of the Press; arbitrary Judges, usurping the known legal power of Juries, to awe the Subject into filence, and thus ingratiate themselves, by concealing the abuses of an Administration. Supporters of the Constitution mifreprefented, and fligmatized as difloyal; honest men removed

^{*} See Burnet's History.

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removed from posts of trust and profit, from council and from government of Countries; Pulpits defiled to fanctify abuse of power, and Sheriffs occasionally struck, to support indirect measures of wicked Ministers; who were secret enemies to the Protestant Succession, and apparent enemies to the liberties of their Country.

Two men who lately took all possible pains to corrupt our morals, have now found a court expedient to deliver themselves from all present restraint and sear of Parliament. That great Court instituted partly to redress grievances, and call to account overgrown criminals, who are above the reach of ordinary justice. How soon his Majesty will be pleased to hear the sense of his people, in the constitutional manner, from their Representatives in Parliament, we know not. For his sake and ours, the Nation is earnest to be heard. As earnest to disclose the state of the Kingdom as the junto are to conceal it. The true cause of their earnest desire for that prorogation.

THEIR designs must be of the blackest dye, who represent the Protestants of this Nation to be disaffected; and the Members of Parliament who oppose their measures, to be seditious, and spirited up by a popish faction.

What malice can exceed theirs, who represent us as disaffected to the King; and as disposed to shake of our dependance upon England; because we are not so weak, as to depend upon them, and so mean, as to make compliances to them, which our common Master would not expect? Tis not probable that any one Protestant in Ireland has it in his thoughts to withdraw his dependance. Nor is there perhaps a Papist in the Nation, sottish enough to cherish that prospect. Men of that persuasion may possibly wish to see a popish monarch on the British Throne; but can have no view of shaking off the national dependance. On some

we must depend, on none so wisely as on those who treat us like brethren and contribute to maintain our Liberties.

The three Estates of the Realm tacked to one another, make admirable harmony, stretch one string beyond it's proper pitch, or leave one out, and you destroy the whole concert. Incroach upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, or of their Representatives, and you break the strength that is to support your Monarch, consequently you abridge the real power and interest of the Crown, which is only to be supported by the strength and treasure of his People.

DURING the present interval of Parliament, our grand seducers, will have time to re-study the art of intrigueing, time to poison the minds, and soul the hands of our Countrymen.

WHENEVER they venture to renew their atrocious attempts upon our virtue, we should consider them as offering the highest indignity that one man can offer to another. No language, no insult, can exceed it. God preserve the King and People.

FINIS.

